

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3517

UNCLASSIFIED SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 7992

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- SPEECH ON PRINCIPLE 8: SELF-DETERMINATION

FOR EUR/SOV AND EUR/RPM FROM USDEL CSCE

1. US DEL (FROWICK) DELIVERED FOLLOWING STATEMENT NOVEMBER 14 ON PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN BASKET I REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WHICH IS WIDELY EXPECTED TO CONCLUDE ON NOVEMBER 15. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT THIS STATEMENT IMPLICITLY REFERS TO ROMANIA AND HUNGARY IN PARAGRAPH 13 AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN PARA 14 AND REITERATES US CONDEMNATION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IN PARA 16.

2. BEGIN TEXT:
MR. CHAIRMAN, IN OUR CONTINUING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, MY DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO TURN NOW TO THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE RELATING TO RESPECT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES.

3. FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE TERM "SELF-DETERMINATION" INVARIABLY BRINGS FORTH MEMORIES OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON AND HIS SUGGESTED FOURTEEN POINTS FOR STRUCTURING
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A VIABLE NEW POLITICAL ORDER IN EUROPE FOLLOWING WORLD WAR I. IN REALITY, OF COURSE, THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN FROM THE IDEA OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN OUR WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. IT WAS WITH THOUGHTS OF "SAVING THE WORLD FOR DEMOCRACY" AND ENSURING THE "SELF-DETERMINATION" OF NATIONS THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AFTER PROTRACTED HESITATION, BROKE THEIR HIS-

TORIC ATTACHMENT TO NEUTRALITY AND ISOLATIONISM IN 1917 TO THROW AMERICAN RESOURCES INTO THE WAR THAT SO FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED THE POLITICAL MAP OF EUROPE IN THE SECOND DECADE OF THIS COUNTRY.

4. AFTER THAT CONFLICT, PRESIDENT WILSON DID HIS UTMOST, AS WE ALL KNOW, TO COMMIT THE UNITED STATES TO AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE INTER-WAR LEAGUE OF NATIONS. BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL PREDILECTION OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND THE CONGRESS TO ADHERE TO ADVICE IN PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES STAND ASIDE FROM THE STRUGGLES OF OTHERS AND CONCENTRATE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN VAST REGIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT PREVAILED. IN TIME, THAT PREDILECTION WOULD BE SEEN AS AN ANACHRONISTIC NOSTALGIA FOR A PAST NEVER TO BE RECOVERED.

5. AT THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES AGAIN HESITATED TO ENTER THE BATTLE. ONLY AFTER A MAJOR ATTACK ON ITS FORCES DID THE UNITED STATES ACTIVELY JOIN IN THE STRUGGLE. ONCE MORE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE MOTIVATED BY A DEEP AND ABIDING DESIRE TO ENABLE VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION TO RECOVER HOPE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND FREEDOM.

6. NOT ONLY DID AMERICANS SHED THEIR BLOOD FOR THESE UNCLASSIFIED

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VALUES, IN THE LATTER GLOBAL STRUGGLE; IN ITS AFTER-MATH, THEY GAVE UNSTINTINGLY OF THEIR TREASURE -- AGAIN, TO BOLSTER FORCES OF DEMOCRACY, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND FREEDOM.

7. MR. CHAIRMAN, FORGIVE ME IF THESE THOUGHTS HAVE FOCUSED ON A PERIOD OF HISTORY PRECEDING THE AUGUST 1975 SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT. BUT I BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO RECALL THESE PAST EVENTS, IN PARTICULAR, FOR THEY HAVE PROFOUNDLY SHAPED THE AMERICAN CONCEPTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION. ANY ATTEMPT TO SET FORTH THE AMERICAN VIEW OF SELF-DETERMINATION MUST TAKE THESE TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES AT LEAST BRIEFLY INTO ACCOUNT.

8. NOW, IN THIS FORUM OUR IMMEDIATE TASK IS TO COMPLETE A FORTHRIGHT REVIEW OF THE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SINCE ITS SIGNATURE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3518

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FOR EUR/SOV AND EUR/RPM FROM USDEL CSCE

AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN HELSINKI 27 MONTHS AGO.

9. MY DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM ITS TOTAL COMMITMENT TO THE PRECEPTS OF PRINCIPLE 8, WHICH CONFORM FULLY WITH THE POLITICAL IDEALS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AMERICANS STRONGLY ENDORSE THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION AND ARE JOINED IN THIS ENDORSEMENT BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE -- AN ALLIANCE WHICH COULD NOT EXIST WITHOUT PERMANENT RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

10. AMERICANS DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT, AS PRINCIPLE 8 PUTS IT, "... ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, AND TO PURSUE AS THEY WISH THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT." WE WOULD EMPHASIZE OUR SUPPORT THAT "ALL PEOPLES" SHOULD "ALWAYS" COMMAND THESE RIGHTS. FOR IN OUR VIEW, STATES SHOULD BE THE SERVANTS OF PEOPLES AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

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11. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALSO SUPPORT THE "UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESPECT FOR AND EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF

PEOPLES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG THEMSELVES AS AMONG ALL STATES." BUT WE CANNOT ALLOW OUR DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND LASTING PEACE TO MUTE OUR CONCERN THAT THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES MUST BE FULLY RESPECTED. THIS IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WHICH IS AT THE VERY EPICENTER OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. WE THINK A LASTING PEACE MUST BE A JUST PEACE.

12. IN TAKING A CLOSE LOOK AT THE POST-HELSINKI PERIOD, MY DELEGATION CONCLUDES THAT UNFORTUNATELY NOT ALL OF THE "PEOPLES" OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES APPEAR TO HAVE ENJOYED THE "RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STATUS, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE. . ."

13. DUE TO ADMITTEDLY EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX VAGARIES OF HISTORY, SOME PEOPLES APPEAR TO US TO HAVE HAD TO LIVE WITH EITHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL SYSTEMS -- OR BOTH -- THAT HAVE STRIKINGLY LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THEIR NATIONAL TRADITIONS OR ASPIRATIONS. IN THE AMERICAN CONCEPTION, SOME HAVE COURAGEOUSLY ADOPTED POLICIES REFLECTING CONSIDERABLE SELF-DETERMINATION EXTERNALLY, WHILE MAINTAINING MAXIMUM RIGIDITY IN THEIR INTERNAL SYSTEMS. OTHER PEOPLES HAVE SOUGHT PRUDENTLY TO BUILD GREATER INTERNAL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL SELF-DETERMINATION, WHILE CURTAILING ATTEMPTS TO CHART AN INDEPENDENT COURSE IN WORLD AFFAIRS -- THAT IS TO SAY, A COURSE ADVANCING UNEQUIVOCALLY THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

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14. IN A MOST UNFORTUNATE CASE, WITHIN THE AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF SELF-DETERMINATION, WE SEE A SMALL NATION OF UNUSUALLY GIFTED PEOPLE, HISTORICALLY VICTIMIZED BY THE POWER POLITICS OF NUMERICALLY MUCH STRONGER NEIGHBORS, SEEMINGLY UNABLE TO ACHIEVE SELF-DETERMINATION IN EITHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL MATTERS. ONE MUST SYMPATHIZE WITH PEOPLES WHOSE INHERITED GEO-POLITICAL SITUATION PLACES THEM IN AN ALMOST PERMANENT VICE BETWEEN POWERFUL, CONFLICTING POLITICAL SYSTEMS --ESPECIALLY WHEN THOSE PEOPLES HAVE RECURRENTLY CALLED FOR HELP IN TIMES OF NEED AND ALMOST INVARIABLY BEEN DENIED EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE.

15. AMERICANS CAN ALSO SYMPATHIZE WITH PEOPLES OF LARGE STATES WHO HAVE SUFFERED UNBELIEVABLE LOSSES IN THE WARS OF THIS CENTURY AND ARE DETERMINED THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN.

16. BUT, MR. CHAIRMAN, AMERICANS CANNOT SYMPATHIZE WITH OR UNDERSTAND, THE NECESSITY APPARENTLY STILL FELT BY SOME TO IMPOSE THEIR INTERNAL AND/OR EXTERNAL SYSTEMS ON OTHERS. SUCH IMPOSITION DEMEANS BOTH THE POWERFUL NEIGHBOR STATE WORKING ITS WILL AND ANY PEOPLES OF THE SMALLER STATES WHO MAY RESIGNEDLY PLACE THEIR DESTINY IN THE HANDS OF OTHERS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3519

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FOR EUR/SOV AND EUR/RPM FROM USDEL CSCE

AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, AMERICANS CATEGORICALLY REJECT ANY DOCTRINE THAT PURPORTS TO JUSTIFY SUCH A DENIAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

17. AT THE STAGE I MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, THE DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER OF FRANCE MADE A MEMORABLE STATEMENT, WHICH STRIKES AT THE HEART OF OUR DISCUSSION OF SELF-DETERMINATION, WHEN HE SPOKE OF "THE RESOLUTION NEVER TO CONSENT TO SURRENDER ONESELF TO A FALSE SECURITY, NEVER TO CONSENT TO MORAL DISARMAMENT WHICH SOFTENS THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE, WHICH BETRAYS VIGILANCE AND WHICH LEADS TO SERFDOM." HE WENT ON TO SAY: "EACH NATION SHOULD RESOLVE TO DEFEND ITS PEACE, ITS SECURITY, FOR THIS IS INDISPENSABLE. HE WHO ABANDONS HIMSELF WILL BE ABANDONED."

18. MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION REALIZES THAT THE WORLD WE LIVE IN IS A COMPLEX AND DANGEROUS ONE --

ESPECIALLY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. EVERY STATE
PARTICIPATING IN THIS CONFERENCE IS SURELY DETERMINED
TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND THE
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STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND
COOPERATION. BUT THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE CAN
SOLEMNLY SIGN DOCUMENTS LIKE THE FINAL ACT, PLEDGING
TO RESPECT FUNDAMENTAL PRECEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMITY
LIKE THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION
AND THEN COMPLETELY IGNORE PRESSURES THAT MAY BE EX-
ERTED TO DENY PRACTICAL REALIZATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE.
ONLY IF WE EXPRESS, DIPLOMATICALLY, BUT WITH CANDOR,
OUR HONEST APPRAISAL OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLAR-
ATION OF PRINCIPLES ARE WE DOING OUR JOB AS THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLES WHO HAVE SENT
US HERE AND IN WHOSE NAME WE SPEAK. THANK YOU, MR.
CHAIRMAN. END TEXT.
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